John Carter Brown.

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# THE

# WISDOM and POLICY

OF THE

# FRENCH

IN THE

# CONSTRUCTION

OF THEIR

# GREAT OFFICES,

So as beſt to anſwer the Purpoſes of extending their TRADE and COMMERCE, and enlarging their FOREIGN SETTLEMENTS.

WITH

Some OBSERVATIONS in relation to the DISPUTES now ſubſiſting between the *ENGLISH* and *FRENCH* COLONIES in *AMERICA*.

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# OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

CONSTRUCTION

OF THE

REFLECTING TELESCOPE

JOHN CARTER BROWN

# INTRODUCTION.

ALTHOUGH a Government may, by its original Conſtitution, have all the Harmony of Parts which the moſt exact Frame and Compoſition can give it; yet, if thoſe poſſeſſed of the Executive Power, having the Direction of the Force of the Commonwealth, apply that Power, which was intended for the Defence and Preſervation of the People, to other Ends and Purpoſes

than thoſe intended, great Diſorders will be introduced into the Body Politic, which will operate in very different Shapes; either as they ariſe from the Ambition of Princes to govern with an unlimited Sway, or from miniſterial and ſubordinate Powers forming diſtinct and ſeparate Intereſts from that of the Prince and the Subjects; in which Caſe, they muſt aſſume a diſpenſing Power, and in many Reſpects act contrary to the Truſt repoſed in them.

Acts of Power in Princes are generally open, and when they are hurried on by Ambition, or irregular Purſuits, they, like *Jupiter*, diſperſe

diſperſe their Thunderbolts, which often carry more of Terror than Danger along with them; for when the Storm is over, and they are made ſenſible of their Error, all the other Parts of the Government may reſume their uſual Functions.

But when, thro' the Ambition or Party-views of miniſterial and ſubordinate Powers, the Harmony and mutual Relation of the great Offices are broke in upon, it puts thoſe employed therein into a perfect Indiſpoſition and Incapacity of ſerving the Publick, and it alſo obliges thoſe, who may afterwards preſide in the ſaid Offices, to act

by incidental Events, which are often various, and for the moſt part irregular; ſo that Facts are diſguiſed, and Objects repreſented as thro' the wrong End of a Perſpective; which quickly leads Men in Power into Errors and Miſtakes, and then they are bound to defend them; and when in Conſequence thereof private Intereſt is preferred to the publick Good, and Stratagems are employed to deceive the People, it deſtroys Society, and renders Multitudes of Men like Herds of Beaſts, without proper Inſtruments, without Faith, and without Propriety of Action. Under which Circumſtances, a Nation may not be appriſed of their Weakneſs

neſs and Danger, until, as in the ſudden Approaches of a Palſy, they find themſelves utterly unable to exert their Strength: For when the Harmony and Order of the great Offices are broke in upon, the Changing of Hands ſeldom produces any good Effect, as they generally improve on the Corruption of the former; ſo that in ſuch Circumſtances, the only Remedy is to correct the Abuſes which thro' Time have crept into the Offices, and to free the Officers of the Crown from a ſervile Dependance in the Diſcharge of their reſpective Duties.

Now

Now as it is conceived to be Unity of Deſign, or the uniform Proſecution of one End or Point of View, which conſtitutes Strength and Vigour in the Body Politic, it may be of great Uſe to be informed of the political Movements of other Kingdoms or States, and of the Genius of their Government, that we may thereby know what to hope or fear from them, either in the Quality of Friends or Enemies. And therefore, as we have at preſent many Concerns of a very intereſting Nature depending with *France*, it may be of Service to take a ſhort View of the Syſtem of their Government,

and the Conſtruction of their great Offices, and in particular of their Council or Board of Commerce, that we may be the better enabled to judge of their Strength, Deſigns and Connections in *America*.

The Policy and Genius of all Governments are beſt diſcerned by their Courſe of Proceedings in their reſpective Offices, which ought to be principally attended to in all Negotiations relative to Trade and Commerce.

I have therefore endeavoured to inform myſelf on this Subject in relation to *France*; and as my only View in publiſhing the fol-

lowing

lowing Treatiſe is to ſerve the Public, I humbly hope they will accept of my Endeavours, and that the Reader will be pleaſed to pardon any Faults or Inadvertencies I may thro' Miſtake be led into in the Courſe of this Eſſay.

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SECT.

## SECT. I.

*Obſervations on the* French *Politics and Government, with reſpect to their Courſe of proceeding in their great Offices.*

IF Men were a Law unto themſelves, there would not be any Want of either Laws or Magiſtrates to keep them in Tranquillity: but, Nature being corrupted, Self-love, Neceſſity, ſometimes Hatred, Avarice, or one Paſſion or other, blinds them, and induces them to violate the Laws of Reaſon, ſo as to uſe Fraud and Force to ſatisfy their unjuſt and irregular Deſires; whereupon Legiſlatures have form-

ed a new Reaſon, which is term-ed Laws; but becauſe Laws muſt be armed with Correction, and have ſome Soul or living Principle, therefore Magiſtrates are appointed to pronounce the Oracles which the Law inſpires, to put the Laws in Execution, and to maintain the Authority of them: however, the Magiſtrates, in all well regulated Governments, have no manner of Authority beyond what is by poſi-tive Grant and Commiſſion dele-gated to them, and are all of them accountable to ſome other Power in the Commonwealth.

The *French* Monarchy, which I intend briefly to treat of in this

Diſ-

Diſcourſe, is compoſed of a King, and the three Eſtates of the Kingdom, namely, the Clergy, the Nobility, and the third Eſtate out of the Merchants, Artificers, and Huſbandmen; and out of thoſe three Eſtates the Parliament was formed; but in the Reign of *Philip the Fair* Parliaments became ſedentary, and now have, or claim, a Power to deliberate upon the Pleaſure and Edicts of the King, even ſo as to ſuſpend any Act of the Crown, which may by them be deemed contrary to the fundamental and eſtabliſhed Rules of Government.

The Parliament likewiſe takes Cognizance of all Appeals brought to them, and have in many Reſpects a Superintendency over the whole Affairs of the Kingdom.

The King hath not only Parliaments and other Officers and Judicatures to determine Differences amongſt his Subjects, but alſo a Council of State, which is generally compoſed of Gentlemen of the Long Robe, by whoſe Advice he may correct all Abuſes in the Adminiſtration of public Affairs, and reverſe all Sentences or Directions given by thoſe in Truſt and Power againſt the Mind and Intention of

the Crown : ſo that the ſaid Council, as conſtituted, may be juſtly ſtyled the Eyes, the Ears, and the Hands of the King, as there is not any Act done, contrary to the King's Intention, but what may, and often is redreſſed by applying to the King in the ſaid Council of State ; and if, on Examination, it be found that the Officers of the Crown are aggrieved by any Act of Power in their Superiors, they may, and often do, meet with Redreſs on that Head. Which Regulation hath a wonderful Operation and Effect in the foreign Concerns of the *French* Nation. For if the Officers of a lower Claſs were barred all Acceſs to the Crown, how could they re-

ſiſt

ſiſt the Will of their Superiors, even in Matters which may be contrary to their Duty to their Sovereign, to the Public, and to the Oath of Office they have taken? Beſides, when the Channels of Information are obſtructed, the Crown cannot either puniſh the Guilty, nor reward the Virtuous, nor in any reſpect exerciſe thoſe Powers which are lodged in it for the Safety and Benefit of the Subject.

The Royal Privy Council, in which ſecret Affairs ought only to be debated, is compoſed of the great Officers of State; but it depends on the Pleaſure of the Crown whe-

whether the Whole, or any particular Number, ſhall be called to aſſiſt with their Advice; and in this Particular different Kings have taken different Courſes.

All public Acts, ſuch as Peace, and War, raiſing of Money, *&c.* *&c.* are ſuppoſed to take their Riſe from the Crown; but there have been Debates on this Head, Whether the King ought to be guided by the Advice of the Royal Council, or of the Council of State. However, be that as it will, all the different Modes of governing by Laws are united in the *French* Monarchy, as no Edict of the Crown ought to have its full

Force

Force and Effect until regiſtered in Parliament; and all Grants and other Acts, which relate to the Execution of the King's Will and Pleaſure, are to be brought into the Council of State: ſo that by thoſe Cheques and Reſtraints, the mutual Relation and Subordination of all the Parts of the Government would be ſo preſerved, as to make them concur and act for the Good of the Whole, provided the Monarch or his Miniſters of State would act uniformly, and not ſilence the other Parts of the Syſtem. But there is ſomething in the Nature of Man, when armed with Power, that hates Reſtraint, and when they follow

their own Wills and Paſſions, they follow blind Guides, that will not allow them to be perfect Maſters of their own Reaſon; from which Root have ſprung many Acts of Power and Oppreſſion. But when Princes act agreeable to their own Syſtem, then Order and Regularity in Buſineſs give Motion and Conduct, Spirit and Vigour to all public Concerns.

In Government there muſt be ſome Power which, compared with the reſt, doth bear the Signatures of Authority, and claim the Right of Direction; for otherwiſe theſe Delegates of Power would be at Liberty to gratify every Ap-

petite and Paſſion in its Turn, or indulge every Deſire which happened to be uppermoſt; but this is not thought conſiſtent with the Dignity of the *French* Monarchy, and indeed their Offices ſeem to be ſo contrived, as to make the King the ſole Maſter and Arbiter of all Rewards, and to confer them himſelf, ſo that they who receive any Beneficence of his may be convinced, they owe it to his Bounty; which is an infallible Means to attract to the Crown the Hope of the Subject, and together with it his Reſpect, as, in ſuch Caſe, every one will ſtrive to do his Duty, and no one promiſe himſelf any Grace or Advantage

but

but by his Merit and Services: therefore, in order to keep all the Channels of Information open to the View of the Crown, all the Great Boards in *France* do, every Year, report to the King in his Council of State the Courſe of the Officers belonging to the reſpective Boards; in which Light the King is to be conſidered as the Center to which all Perſons, employed in the Adminiſtration of public Affairs, and all Matters relative to the Offices, ultimately reſort; and from this there reſults a Spirit of Liberty in the Adminiſtration of public Affairs.

What hath principally contributed to the breaking in upon the original Syſtem or Plan of Government, and alſo to introduce many arbitrary Acts of Power and Violence againſt the Subject in *France*, is the Attempts of the Clergy to render themſelves Maſters of a great Part of the temporal Juriſdiction, which they have, in a manner, forced ſome of the *French* Monarchs to yield to them. They have alſo obtained the Rights of Mortmain and Indemnity for the Lands they poſſeſs; whereby the State is much weakened; and not only ſo, but it creates a foreign Monarchy in the Boſom of *France*.

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Another great and effectual Cauſe of breaking in upon the ſaid Syſtem of Government is, the Power conferred on the Nobility by Fiefs, and by intruſting them with the Charge of doing Juſtice, and of commiſſioning Officers for that End, which hath been an Inlet to many Acts of Power and Oppreſſion on the Subjects.

The Manner likewiſe of regulating and collecting the public Taxes hath been extremely oppreſſive to the poorer ſort of the People, as the greateſt Weight lies upon them. Not but if the Farms were properly regulated, and not granted

ed in Reverſion, and alſo brought within the View of the Treaſury Chamber, and the Farmers thereby properly checked, they might in many Reſpects be conſidered as beneficial to the Subject.

In *France* the Conſtitution of the Nobility is wholly Military, and therefore they think it inconſiſtent, with their Rank, Quality, or Profeſſion to be ſubject to the Reſtraints which might be laid on them by a Parliament.

Theſe and many other Conſiderations are ſtrong Inducements to the Sovereign to act according to his own arbitrary Will and

Plea-

Pleaſure, and to force all the other Parts of the Government to concur with his Views in any Deviation he may think proper to make from the legal Syſtem of Government. Yet the Conſtitution hath many natural Strengths; as for example, the King cannot with Safety undertake any War of Importance without allowing the Parliament the free Uſe and Exerciſe of their Powers; for if this was denied them, the King could not borrow Money ſufficient to anſwer the Expences of the Government. And, with regard to the great Council of State (which, as above obſerved, is generally compoſed of Gentlemen of the Long Robe)

Robe) the Dignity and Safety of the Crown, the due Courſe of Buſineſs in the Offices, and the Unity of Action through all the conſtituent Parts of the Government, principally depend on it, as it is a Check upon the whole Adminiſtration, and makes the Crown the Center to which all Matters relative to the Offices ultimately reſort.

In this Regulation there is much Safety: For Informations in any other Shape could not be wholly relied upon, as Miniſters are in many Reſpects liable to be deceived, as well as the Crown. But when Unity of Action is preſerved, and all Matters left open to the

View

View of the Crown, both the Monarch and his Miniſters of State will be freed from many Miſtakes and Inadvertencies in their Conduct; and the Government will be preſerved in perfect Health, and not ſicken under the Preſſure of crude and undigeſted Schemes of Policy.

It is the greateſt Happineſs to a Miniſter, and what will afford the higheſt Pleaſure to an ingenuous and benevolent Diſpoſition of Temper, to be under proper Reſtraints in the Exerciſe of Power; it frees him from many irregular Solicitations, it preſerves him from condeſcending to many Acts contrary to his Judgment, and often

unworthy of his Character; it will allow him to diſplay his Talents, and make Virtue appear, what it really is, a lovely Form; and it will keep him from ſervile Fears and Condeſcenſions unequal to his Character; which will prevent him from knowing any Maſter but his Sovereign.

When the great *Sully* undertook to reform the Abuſes which had crept into the Adminiſtration of public Affairs in *France*, divers Things had been engaged by the *French* Kings to the Uſe of private Perſons, who had paid Sums thereupon; but as the ſaid Kings had ſold or engaged their Rights at an under Value, *Sully* thought it juſt

and fit to reſume ſome of the ſaid Rights, and to recover the Demeſne of the Crown from others by a Rent-charge, which ſecured the Payment of the Money they had advanced : but that the King might reap further Advantage from this Change, it was neceſſary to ſettle a Fund for the Raiſing of theſe new Rents, and for that End a new Impoſition was laid upon the Clergy, Counties of State, Companies, Colleges, and other Members of the Kingdom. But as the Advantage of an Exchequer doth not only conſiſt in the bare Getting in of Money, but alſo in a frugal Manner of Expending it, it was likewiſe neceſſary to reform

the great Offices, the Miniſters of State having, for many Years before that Period of Time, conſidered themſelves to be at Liberty to diſpenſe with the Rules of their reſpective Offices; or, it may more properly be ſaid, they had not any determinate or unvariable Rule of Action. The Orders and Regulations made by the Crown in former Times not being uſually renewed on the Acceſſion of their Kings, nor conſidered as having ſtill the ſame Force and Efficacy as the Ordinances of the Crown in other Caſes; he wiſely and prudently conſidered that this gave an Opening to many Incroachments by Men in Power; and that if they,

from

from particular Motives, or private Views, deviated from the juſt Principles of Action, thoſe who were dependent on, and acted ſubſervient to, them would ever take Advantage of ſuch Proceedings, and, in their reſpective Spheres of Action, improve it to their own Service, in delaying the Buſineſs of the Public, and in throwing infinite Difficulties in the Way of all ſuch as had any public Concerns with the Crown; and that this Evil would in Time be communicated from the Higheſt to the Loweſt, even in ſuch a Degree as to make the lower Clerks prey upon the Neceſſities of the Soldiers and Sailors.

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In examining into the ſaid Motives and Springs of Action, it inſpired him with a patriot Zeal for the Service of his King and Country; and in order to lay a ſolid and proper Foundation for the Structure afterwards to be raiſed, he began with a Matter that nearly concerned himſelf, namely, to uſe all his Credit and Power with the Sovereign, to make every Rule of Office equally binding or obligatory with the Edicts of the Crown in other Caſes; and to free the Officers of a lower Claſs from a ſervile Dependance on their Superiors. It was likewiſe directed by an Arret of the King in Coun-

cil

cil (which is in Force until this Day) that every Officer ſhould have a Right, by Petition, to lay his Grievances before the King in his great Council of State; and to demand any Papers, Entries, or other Records, in any of the Offices whereſoever placed, which might by him be thought neceſſary to ſupport the ſeveral Matters contained in his Petition.

Such a wiſe Regulation could not fail of producing happy Effects, by freeing thoſe employed in the Service of the Crown from a ſervile Dependance on their Superiors, and directing the Method of Appeal to the Crown, by freeing

ing thoſe in the Adminiſtration of Affairs of State from irregular and unjuſtifiable Solicitations, and by preventing the Revenues of the Crown from being embezzled or miſapplied, which muſt always be the Caſe when there are particular and private Intereſts to ſupport, foreign to, and independent of, that of the Crown; as it is conceived to be an undoubted Truth, That it will require more than twice as much to ſupport the private Views of an Adminiſtration, as would be neceſſary to expedite the Buſineſs of the Public.

It may be proper to obſerve further, that by the Syſtem of the *French*

*French* Government, the ſaid Council of State is the high Watch-Tower, from which the King may ſurvey all his Dominions, and ſometimes all the Dominions of the World, in order to conſult the Honour, Defence, Profit and Peace of his Subjects, and alſo their Protection from Violence or Injury, either at Home or Abroad. But this cannot be done, if the leading Principle is not in a Condition to act its Part well, and to proper Purpoſes. For if the other great Boards do not retain their proper Functions, but are at liberty to vary from their Rule of Action, ſuch Deviations break in upon the mutual Agreement and friendly

Operation of the Parts; by which the Government muſt ſuffer a ſenſible Diſturbance: and in Proportion as this prevails, the Security and Happineſs of the People muſt be diminiſhed; for if the ſaid Council of State was to concur with any of the other great Boards, in any Incroachments upon the Crown, or the Subject, under thoſe Circumſtances the King might, in a great meaſure, be excluded from having any Share or Direction in the Adminiſtration of State Affairs, altho' at the ſame Time Miniſters of State made an arbitrary Uſe of his Name and Authority. However, the *French* are too wiſe to admit of ſuch Innovations,

novations, and the Parliament of *Paris* have always guarded againſt it, as the greateſt Misfortune which could poſſibly attend the Kingdom; becauſe, by that Means, they would be rendered incapable either to defend themſelves, or to undertake any Enterprize of Moment; for in ſuch a Situation, a Government may be juſtly reſembled to a disjointed Body, whoſe Members are diſlocated, and unable to act their proper Parts. Therefore at the Acceſſion of every King, the Arrets of former Kings in Council are renewed, and conſidered as a ſtanding Rule to act by; and in like manner, all the other great Boards regulate

themſelves in the Execution of the King's Will and Intention. So that, on the whole, the King may be properly ſaid to be in his Kingdom, what the Soul is in the natural Body, which, according to the proper Direction of its Powers, brings either Happineſs or Miſery; and in this Reſpect *France* may be juſtly ſaid to be happy in the Management of their *American* Colonies, and in the Conduct of War and Negotiations, altho' at the ſame Time they are in many Reſpects miſerable, by the wrong Direction of their interior Concerns.

SECT.

## SECT. II.

*The Motives which induced* Lewis the XIVth *to conſtitute a Board of Commerce, and the Plan upon which the ſaid Board is conſtituted; and alſo the Checks and Reſtraints the Governors and other Officers are liable to, in the Diſcharge of their reſpective Duties; with a general View of their Commerce.*

IT is not much above half a Century, ſince *France* was not a Soil wherein one could expect to find Trade flouriſh; the Maxims of their Government being, in many

many Reſpects, contrary to that Freedom and Security, which are abſolutely neceſſary for the Improvement or Enlargement of Trade. However the *French* King, *Lewis* the XIVth, in a great meaſure removed thoſe Obſtacles, by the Rules or Ordinances which he made on conſtituting a Council of Commerce in 1700. For whatever the Exigencies of State might require him to do at particular Junctures, yet he took effectual Care to provide for the Security and Safety of his Subjects in *America*, ſo as not to leave them a Prey to the Governors and other Officers in the Plantations. Hence it appears evident, that protecting

the

the Subject by a regular Plan, or Syſtem of Acting in the Offices, hath as great an Effect and Operation in the encouraging and promoting of Trade, as the Sun hath by ſending out his benign and gentle Influence on the Seeds of Plants, in inviting forth their active and plaſtic Powers.

*Lewis* the XIVth, in the Proſecution of the War he had enter'd into with the Maritime Powers, was made ſenſible of the great Advantages reſulting from Trade and Navigation; that it was impoſſible for any Country, however advantageouſly ſituated, to bear the Expences and Load of heavy

Taxes,

Taxes, without a proportionable Supply ariſing from its Commerce; and that without enlarging or extending the Trade of his Colonies, which would prove a conſiderable Nurſery for Sailors, he could not carry on his extenſive Views, or promote the Grandeur and Dignity of his Crown: And being likewiſe ſenſible how neceſſary it was to give all manner of Encouragement and Security to ſuch as were inclinable to embark in new Undertakings, his Majeſty took effectual Care to eſtabliſh an orderly Courſe of Proceeding, and to ordain a regular Plan to take place, ſo as to prevent thoſe in Truſt and Office in

the ſaid Colonies, from having it in their Power to render any thing done by them fallacious or uncertain, and if poſſible to prevent all Cauſes of Injury to the Subjects abroad, and not to let the Property of the *French* Planters reſt in the Hands of their Governors without any regular Check or certain Controul which could be depended upon.

The *French* King was under no Reſtraint in appointing what Form of Government he thought fit, or in directing that all the Lands in *America* ſhould be conſidered as a Demeſne of the Crown: but as the Order and Subſerviency of

all leſſer Syſtems, and their Concurrence to the Good of the general Syſtem, depend upon the Subordination of the Parts, the Conſtitution of the *French* Council or Board of Commerce, and the Form of Government inſtituted in the Colonies, evidently ſhew, that the Crown reſerved to itſelf only a kind of parental Property in the *American* Colonies.

And in many other Reſpects the political Views and Foreſight of the *French* King and his Miniſters of State cannot be ſufficiently admired, in making the Crown the Center to which all Matters relating to the Colonies

muſt

muſt ultimately reſort, by one Conveyance or through one Channel only, and in keeping the Offices, in all their ſeveral Branches or Departments, uniform, entire, and open, under ſevere Penalties to be inflicted on the Aggreſſors, and recoverable by the Subject when injured by thoſe in Truſt and Power under the Crown.

But in order the more clearly and effectually to illuſtrate the ſaid Matters, it will be neceſſary to take a Survey of the Inſtitutions, Regulations and Ordinances, which are in Uſe in the *French* Council of Commerce; to point out the wonderful Operation and

Effect they have had in promoting their Trade and Navigation, and afterwards to demonſtrate that the Plan or Syſtem of all Offices is to be conſidered as a Piece of Clock-work which, by its Springs, directs the Wheels in their Motion.

The *French* King by his Arret to eſtabliſh a Council of Commerce, declares, " That he was more " diſpoſed than ever to grant a par- " ticular Protection to Commerce, " to ſhew his Eſteem of the good " Merchants and Traders of his " Kingdom, and to facilitate to " them the Means of making Com- " merce flouriſh and extending it: " he

" he judges, that nothing can be
" more capable of producing this
" Effect, than the forming a
" Council of Commerce, which
" ſhall be wholly attentive to the
" examining and promoting what-
" ever may be moſt advantageous
" to Commerce, and to the Ma-
" nufactures of the Kingdom.
" Which he being deſirous to ſettle,
" the Report of Mr. *Chamillart*,
" Counſellor in Ordinary to the
" Royal Council, Comptroller Ge-
" neral of the Finances, being
" heard, he the ſaid King, being
" in his Council, has ordained,
" and ordains, That for the fu-
" ture a Council of Commerce
" ſhall be held, at leaſt, once

every

" every Week, which ſhall be
" compoſed of Mr. *Daguſſeau*,
" Counſellor in Ordinary of State,
" and of the Royal Council of the
" Finances; of Mr. *Chamillart*,
" Counſellor of the ſaid Royal
" Council, and Comptroller Ge-
" neral of the Finances; of the
" Count *De Pontchartain*, Coun-
" ſellor to the ſaid King in all
" his Councils, Secretary of State,
" and of his Majeſty's Orders; of
" Mr. *Amelot*, Counſellor of State;
" of M. *De Hornothon* and *Bayyn*
" *D'Angervilliers*, Counſellors to
" the ſaid King in his Councils,
" Maſters of Requeſts in Ordi-
" nary of his Houſhold; and of
" Twelve of the principal trading

" Mer-

" Merchants in the Kingdom, or
" ſuch as have been a long Time
" engaged in Commerce: That
" of this Number of trading Mer-
" chants, two ſhall always be of
" the Town of *Paris*, and that
" the other ten ſhall be taken
" out of the Towns of *Rouen*,
" *Bourdeaux*, *Lyons*, *Marſeilles*,
" *Rochelle*, *Nantes*, *St. Malo*,
" *Liſle*, *Bayonne*, and *Dunkirk*.
" That in the ſaid Council of
" Commerce ſhall be diſcuſſed
" and examined all the Propoſi-
" tions and Memorials which
" ſhall be ſent to it; together
" with the Affairs and Difficul-
" ties which may ariſe concern-
" ing COMMERCE as well by Land

as

" as by Sea, within the Kingdom
" and out of it, concerning Works
" and Manufactures; to the End
" that upon the Report that ſhall
" be made to the ſaid King of the
" Reſolutions which ſhall have
" been taken thereupon in the ſaid
" Council of Commerce, the ſaid
" King may order what is moſt
" adviſeable. His, the ſaid King's
" Will and Intention is, that the
" Choice and Nomination of the
" ſaid trading Merchants, who
" are to be of the ſaid Council of
" Commerce, ſhall be made freely
" and without clandeſtine cabal-
" ling, by the Corporation Ma-
" giſtrates of the Town, and by
" the trading Merchants in each

" of the ſaid Towns. That thoſe,
" who ſhall be choſen to be of
" the Council of Commerce, be
" Men of known Probity, and
" Capacity and Experience in
" Matters of Commerce; and that
" for this Purpoſe the Town Ma-
" giſtrates and the trading Mer-
" chants of the Towns above-
" mentioned ſhall aſſemble in
" the Month of *July* next, in
" each reſpective Town-Houſe,
" to proceed to the ſaid Election,
" ſo that the trading Merchants,
" thus elected and named, may be
" able to arrive at *Paris*, or where-
" ever the Court ſhall reſide, by
" the End of *September* following,
" to begin their Functions the 1ſt

" Day of *October*. That the ſaid
" Elections ſhall be for one Year
" only, and ſhall be renewed an-
" nually in the Manner above
" mentioned, with a Proviſo, that
" the Time of Service in the ſaid
" Council may be prolonged, if
" it ſhall be judged proper ſo to
" do. He, the ſaid King, or-
" dains, that the forenamed Com-
" ptroller-General of the Finances
" ſhall nominate two Perſons in-
" tereſted in his Majeſty's Farms,
" to be called to the ſaid Coun-
" cil when the Nature of Affairs
" ſhall require. And for Secre-
" tary of the ſaid Council of Com-
" merce, he, the ſaid King, hath
" nominated Mr. *Cruaw de la*
" *Boulaye*,

" *Boulaye*, Counſellor to him the
" ſaid King, Corrector in Ordi-
" nary of the Chambers of Ac-
" compts; who ſhall take care to
" keep an exact Regiſter of all
" the Propoſitions, Memorials and
" Affairs, which ſhall be laid be-
" fore the ſaid Council, as alſo of
" the Reſolutions which ſhall be
" taken therein; Copies whereof
" he ſhall deliver according as he
" ſhall be ordered by the ſaid
" Council. Done in the ſaid
" King's Council of State, he
" being preſent. At *Verſailles*,
" the 29th Day of *June*, 1700.

The King's Intention in conſti-
tuting the ſaid Council or Board

of Commerce, was to make them the only Conveyance to him in his Council of State; and therefore he wiſely ordained, that all the great Officers of State ſhould be conſtituted Members of the ſaid Board, that in caſe any Matter came under the Conſideration of the Board, which had Reference to the Conduct of any of the Officers who were appointed by, or under the Direction of, any of the ſaid Officers of State, ſuch Matters might nevertheleſs be cognizable by the ſaid Board of Commerce, as all the ſaid Officers of State are deemed to be preſent at the ſaid Board, although they do not give their Attendance.

This

This Part of the Conſtitution of the *French* Board of Commerce ſeems to be taken from the original Conſtitution of our Council of Trade in 1696; however there is this great Difference between the two Boards, that the *French* have ſteadily adhered to the Rules and Inſtitutions of their Board; but the *Engliſh* have not had it equally in their Power ſo to do, which has been the Root or Cauſe of many Evils, both as it relates his Majeſty's Subjects in *America*, and to the Trade and Commerce of the *Engliſh* Nation.

The

The Regulations of greateſt Moment and Efficacy made by the ſaid Arret are, that in the ſaid Council of Commerce ſhould be diſcuſſed and examined, all the Propoſitions and Memorials which ſhould be ſent to it, together with the Affairs and Difficulties which might ariſe concerning Commerce; and likewiſe that the Secretary of the ſaid Council of Commerce ſhould take care to keep an exact Regiſter of all the Propoſitions, Memorials and Affairs which ſhould be brought before the ſaid Council, as alſo of the Reſolutions which ſhould be taken thereon.

Now

Now the Arret of the *French* King having the Force and Virtue of a Law, the Council of Commerce are under an abſolute Neceſſity, and even ſubject to great Penalties, as is provided in other Caſes of Contempt, if they do not examine and diſcuſs all the Propoſitions and Memorials ſent to them, together with the Difficulties which might ariſe concerning them; ſo that the Crown is to be appriſed of the Reaſons for approving or rejecting the ſame. Neither is it in the Power of the King's Council of State to ſilence or alter any of the Reports of the ſaid Council of Commerce,

until

until the King's Pleaſure is known thereon.

There is much Safety in that Method of proceeding, for thereby all Matters tranſacted in the ſaid Council of Commerce will be kept open to the View of the Crown, it being much eaſier to reject any Propoſition or Memorial, than to aſſign a good Reaſon for doing it. But what is ſtill of much greater Moment is, that the ſaid Council of Commerce being obliged to report their Opinion in the manner above directed, on every Matter laid before them, preſerve a kind of Independency in their own Sphere of

Action: And in this Particular they have acted with great Steadineſs, ſo as not to diſpenſe with the Rules of their Office in compliment to Men in Power; nay, they have even gone ſo far, in Obedience to the King's Will and Intention in conſtituting the ſaid Board, as to find Fault with ſome Orders and Regulations of his Majeſty, in his royal Council of State, *viz.*

In a Memorial preſented to his Majeſty, relative to the propereſt Means of procuring the Importation of Gold and Silver Bullion into the Kingdom, and for the Hindring the Exportation of the

Coin, they addreſs themſelves to his Majeſty in the following Terms, namely,

That it is neceſſary to fix the current Price of our Coin, and never to alter it again; as the Uncertainty it is now in makes Foreigners draw out of the Kingdom what Effects they have in our Hands, to ſecure it from Loſs. And they afterwards conclude with offering their Opinion, that it would be proper for his Majeſty to give the Public an authentic Aſſurance, that the Rate of Bullion, and of the current Coin, ſhall for the future be unalterable.

It is alſo very obſervable, that they have frequently reported againſt the Conduct of thoſe who are concerned in Farming the Revenues of the Crown; and in many other Reſpects ſhew, that they act ſtrictly in Obedience to the Crown, and conſequently with a kind of Independency on the other great Boards; for how would it be poſſible for twelve Merchants choſen annually, and who are often very little known at Court, to take Cognizance of the Actions of the Governors abroad, who being generally Men of great Intereſt and Weight, have Connections with Men in the higheſt Employments

in the Kingdom, if they were not under a Neceſſity of proceeding according to the Syſtem or Plan of Action directed by the Crown?

The *French* King, after eſtabliſhing the ſaid Council of Commerce, iſſued ſeveral Orders, Edicts and Declarations, for the better regulating the Conduct of the Governors, Surintendants, &c. and alſo appointed what they call a Sovereign Council in each of the Colonies, which conſiſts of twelve Counſellors, and the Intendant, who claims a Right of being Preſident of the ſaid Council; which Council is the ſupreme Judicature,

and

and decides all Cauſes without being liable to any other Appeal in the Colonies: At this Court every one pleads his own Cauſe, or elſe does it by Memorial, as Solicitors or Barriſters are never to appear there; by which Means it comes to paſs, that Law-ſuits are quickly brought to a Period. There is in each of the Colonies beſides a Governor, Intendant, and Council,—a Lieutenant-General, both civil and military, an Attorney-General, the Great-Provoſt, and a Chief-Juſtice in Eyre.

In relation to which it may be proper to obſerve, that the Governors-General are to be conſidered

dered as acting both in a civil and military Capacity; but every Thing done by the Governor in a civil Capacity is checked and reſtrained by the Intendant and Council; and as a Check upon the Governor, Intendant, and Council, every Thing done by them is to be entered in Journals kept for that Purpoſe only, and to be peruſed and examined by the Governor, and counterſigned by the Surintendant; and in caſe of any falſe Entry, Omiſſion, or Neglect in tranſmitting the ſaid Journals, at the ſtated Times directed by the Crown, the Governors and Surintendants are liable to the Penalties preſcribed by the King's Arrets;

and

and if any of the *French* King's Subjects, either at home or abroad, are injured either in their Perſons or Properties by the ſaid Governors, Intendants, &c. acting contrary to the King's Pleaſure, ſignified by the ſaid Arrets, the Subjects injured, on Proof made thereof before the ſaid Council of Commerce, are, on Application to the King in his Council of State, intitled to Relief. So that by the regular Return of the Records, the *French* Subjects in *America* are intitled to appeal to the Crown for Juſtice; and as all Abuſes contrary to the King's Intention are conſidered as an Offence of the higheſt Nature againſt the

Crown,

Crown, the Complainants, if juſtly intitled thereto, ſeldom or never fail to meet with Redreſs, without being put to any extraordinary Charge on that Account.

As is above obſerved, the Governors in the *French* Colonies act in two Capacities; but as a military Officer, they have diſcretionary Orders, and proceed according to the military Law, and from this Latitude they ſometimes commit great Acts of Power; but in a civil Capacity they are wholly reſtrained by the Regulations and Arrets of the King; and to guard againſt all Inconvenience which might ariſe from having improper

Perſons

Perſons to ſucceed the Governors, in caſe of their Death, the King hath always appointed Lieutenant-Governors, both civil and military.

The Excellency of thoſe Ordinances and Arrets of the *French* King is, that they preſerve one regular, uniform, and entire Rule of Action; ſo that the *French* Subjects abroad may, in all Caſes of Oppreſſion, and Acts of Violence committed by the ſaid Governors, Intendants, &c. meet with Redreſs at a ſmall Expence; as the Matters complained of, if they relate to Matters of Property, muſt be upon Record, and duly tranſmitted to the *French* Council or

Board of Commerce; or elſe, as before obſerved, from the ſaid Omiſſion, the Governors, Intendants, *&c.* are liable to the Penalties directed by the King's ſaid Arrets. Which Penalties have, in ſome Inſtances, been given to the Complainants, in order to repay their Damages or Expences during the Delay thereby occaſioned. Altho' it is very obſervable, that the Records are ſo regularly formed, kept, and tranſmitted, that the *French* Council of Commerce depend principally upon the Records in Matters of Information, as they do not admit of any Solicitors, or even Advocates to plead before them; they keep a Clerk

in

in their Office, whoſe ſole Buſi-neſs is to draw up Memorials, Re-preſentations, and Petitions, for ſuch Perſons as have any Occaſion to prefer them, or apply for Re-dreſs to the ſaid Council or Board of Commerce.

In relation to which it is fur-ther proper to obſerve, that the principal End and Deſign of con-ſtituting a Board of Commerce was to guard againſt all Incroach-ments on the Rights of the Crown, or the Property of the Subject; and in order thereto to take ef-fectual Care, that the Ordinances or Arrets of the Crown ſhould be

duly obſerved, which can only be done by preſerving Harmony and Order in all their Proceedings in the Colonies.

Now in reſpect to this, the Board cannot admit of any Deviations in the Governors or Intendants, or admit them to offer any colourable Pleas or Pretences in excuſe for their Conduct; for if this was once allowed of, it would break in upon the whole Syſtem of the Board; and inſtead of repreſenting Matters in a proper Light to the Crown, they might be made uſe of to very different Ends and Purpoſes, by concealing many

many Acts of Oppreſſion, and throwing a Veil over the Conduct of Men in Power.

The ſaid Council of Commerce likewiſe takes ſpecial Care to preſerve the Officers of a lower Claſs from any ſervile Dependance on the Governors or Surintendants; which keeps thoſe Offices in the Diſcharge of their reſpective Duties under the Protection of the Crown; for if they could not meet with Relief, or be defended from arbitrary Acts of Power, how would it be poſſible for them to reſiſt the Will of their Superiors, even in Matters which might be

contrary

contrary to the Orders of the Crown?

And as the Hopes of due Reward is a very ſtrong Incitement to animate or puſh Men forwards in their Duty, ſo by the Inſtitution of the Council of Commerce, they are to give a particular Account to the *French* King, of the Conduct of all the Officers who are employed in *America*; and there are few, if any, Inſtances, wherein thoſe who have behaved well have not been properly rewarded and promoted, and thoſe who deviated from, or acted contrary to their Duty, been accordingly puniſhed and diſmiſſed.

All

All the Revenues arifing in the *French* Colonies are accounted for in the Chamber of Accompts, and all Officers employed therein give Security to the faid Chamber for the due Performance of their Duty; fo that upon any Neglect or Omiffion in returning their Accompts, agreeable to the Rules prefcribed to them, their Sureties are liable to be profecuted; and by this Means, there is a conftant Fund or Supply for the Ufe of the Colonies, which for the moft Part is applied to the Ufe of the Colonies, in fuch manner as is adviſed by the Council of Trade.

The

The Credit and Influence of the ſaid Council hath great Weight with the *French* King, in all Matters relating to Trade and Commerce; ſo that it very ſeldom happens that they recommend any Thing to the Crown, but what is carried into Execution. And if there be any foreign Intereſt to oppoſe ſuch Meaſures as are recommended by them, the *French* King hath, for the moſt part, judged it to be for the Service of the Crown, to carry the ſaid Meaſures into Execution, and then to hear and debate the Point in Queſtion, with any other Nation which may oppoſe it.

The ſaid Regulations ſpeak ſufficiently for themſelves; but what adds more Strength and Vigour to the whole, and what hath made the ſaid Council of Commerce act with ſuch Force and Energy in protecting the *French* Subjects abroad, and alſo in protecting and encouraging their Trade, and Navigation, and Manufactures at home, ariſes principally from their not having any Power, either in themſelves, or at the Inſtigation of others, to diſpenſe with the eſtabliſhed Rules of their Office; and that the ſaid Governors or Intendants abroad cannot any more diſpenſe with the Ordinances and

Arrets of the Crown, than our Judges in *Weſtminſter-Hall* can with the Rules and Forms eſtabliſhed in our Courts of Law.

The good Effects and Operation which thoſe Regulations and Arrets in *France* have produced, may be better known by taking a curſory View of the Trade and Navigation of the *French* Colonies at the Time when their ſaid Council of Commerce was firſt inſtituted; and ſo compare it with the preſent State thereof, and the ſurpriſing Increaſe of Trade and Navigation in that Kingdom.

In

In 1701 the *French* did not employ above one hundred Ships in the *Weſt-India* Trade, and thoſe Ships were not near the Size, Dimenſions, or Burthen of their Ships at preſent employed therein, neither were their Commodities of equal Goodneſs or Value of thoſe which they now produce; but by a Calculation made of the Amount of the Produce of their *Weſt-India* Colonies from the Year 1737 to 1744, the *French* Iſlands have in Sugar, Rum, Molaſſes, Indigo, Pimento, Cotton, Pepper, Ginger, Coffee, *&c.* *&c.* produced to the Value or Amount of two Millions, four hundred thouſand Pounds

Sterling *per Annum*, and upwards, independent of an extenſive and profitable private Trade carried on from *St. Domingo* with the *Spaniards* in *America*. And moreover it appears, that in the ſaid *Weſt-India* Trade or Commerce, one hundred and twenty thouſand Tons of *French* Shipping, with eleven thouſand Sailors, are annually employed; the Freight of which (as computed) amounts to four hundred and eighty thouſand Pounds Sterling *per Annum*, and upwards.

That by a Calculation at the ſame Time made, of the Produce of the *French* Settlements on the Continent of *America*, and alſo of their

their Fiſhery on the Coaſt of *Newfoundland*, &c. the Amount thereof is computed at eight hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds Sterling *per Annum*, and upwards.

That the ſaid Freight in Time of Peace amounted to two hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds Sterling, and upwards, which, incluſive of their Fiſhery, annually employed nine thouſand Seamen.

The Regulations made in the ſaid Board of Commerce have alſo had a ſurpriſing Effect on their Manufactures, and other Branches of Trade, as they have been thereby enabled to carry on a great Trade

to

to *India*, *Turkey*, *Africa*, and even to ſupply *Spain* with a great Part of the Commodities ſuited to the *Spaniſh American* Trade, which brings a continual Source of Treaſure and Riches to the *French* Nation; and in Conjunction with the Advantages gained by their own *American* Trade, enables them to borrow great Sums of Money to anſwer the Exigencies of the State, and likewiſe to repay the ſame, without laying themſelves under the Neceſſity of mortgaging their Funds in perpetuity.

I ſhall only pray Leave to obſerve further, that from the whole Conduct of *France* they evidently



appear

appear to be of Opinion, that the Dominion of the Seas, and the Strength and Riches of their Country, in a great meaſure depend upon the Improvement of their *American* Colonies; to gain which great and valuable End, they will not be wanting either in Induſtry, or in the Application of Money.

This being the Object of ſo great and powerful a Rival, how juſtly doth it claim our Attention in ſecuring our Intereſt in *America*, and in adopting every Scheme of theirs, which may ſuit our preſent Intereſts and Deſigns.

SECT.

## SECT. III.

### *The Deſigns of the* French *in forming Connections with the* Indians, *and in extending their Territories in* America ; *with ſome further Obſervations in relation to the general Plan of Power, which they are endeavouring to eſtabliſh.*

IN the foregoing Sections I have endeavoured to ſhew, that wherever Order, Coherence, and Union are obſerved, the eſtabliſhed Connections, and orderly Conduct of public Affairs, lead ultimately to the Good of the Society ; and on the contrary, the acting by inter-

intermediate Events, which are often varied by ten thouſand irregular Cauſes, leads to Unhappineſs and Miſery. And that where there is no Determinations to aſſociated Forms, neither Patriotiſm nor Heroiſm can ſenſibly affect Men in Truſt and Office, ſo as to incite them to act for the public Good.

I have likewiſe obſerved that all leſſer Syſtems ought to concur to the Good of the general Syſtem or Plan of Government, and that when this is wanting, there cannot be Unity of Deſign; but on the contrary an eter-

nal Clashing and Jarring of Interests.

I have also endeavoured to shew that the Wisdom of the *French* Politics arises principally from the mutual Relation and Subserviency of their public Offices, as the freeing the Officers of a lower Class from a servile Dependance on the Governors and Intendants in *America*, is a great and effectual Means of bringing every Matter of Importance to the View of the Council of Trade, and consequently to the View of the Crown; and that the Hope of Reward gives an additional Spring and Energy to those employed

ployed in the Diſcharge of their reſpective Duties: for if the contrary Practice was to take place, it might be more dangerous to expoſe Faults than to commit them, and under ſuch Circumſtances an Officer is obliged, in regard to his own Safety, to ſubmit to every thing his Superiors may direct, without any Reſpect had either to the Orders of the Crown or the Good of the Public.

Whilſt our Colonies remained undiſturbed by the *French*, there were many Cauſes of a mixt Nature, which contributed greatly to the Settlement of them; but now that the Affairs of *America*

are one of the principal Objects of the *French* Nation, the Protection of our Colonies becomes a Matter of public Concern, and claims the Attention of the Government. Therefore, as is conceived, it may not be improper to take a general View of the Conduct of the *French*, in relation to their Incroachments, and to the Settlement of their Colonies.

In the firſt Settlement of *Canada*, the *French* had many and great Difficulties to contend with, neither the Country nor the Climate being inviting. And the Obſtructions they met with from the *Indians* would have deterred moſt

moſt other Nations from any Attempts of this Nature. However, the Glory of the *French* Monarch, and alſo the Hopes of being taken notice of, do at all Times influence the *French* to undertake or attempt the moſt hazardous Enterpriſes.

In 1612, the *French* ſent out many Perſons to ſettle in *Canada*, who would otherwiſe have been confined in the Galleys, and alſo Numbers of ſturdy Beggars and looſe Women; and to defend the Settlement from the *Indians*, there were ſome Companies of regular Troops tranſported thither. But there does

not appear to have been any conſiderable Number of Forces tranſported to *Canada*, until Monſ. *De Traſi*, appointed Viceroy of *America*, arrived at *Quebec* in 1665, after which *Cangnon*'s Regiment was broke, and both Officers and Men had conſiderable Quantities of Land allowed them to ſettle on.

After the Reform of the ſaid Troops ſeveral Ships were ſent thither from *France*, who carried a great Number of Women along with them, under the Direction of ſome old Nuns; and when they arrived there, the Men, that wanted to be married, made their

Ad-

Addreſſes to the above-mentioned Governeſſes, and after the Choice was determined, the Marriage was concluded in the Preſence of a Prieſt and a public Notary. And the next Day the Governor, by the King's Order, beſtowed upon ſuch married Perſons a Bull, a Cow, a Hog, a Sow, a Cock and Hen, two Barrels of Salt-meat, and eleven Crowns in Money.

The *French* King likewiſe gave the Clergy conſiderable Grants of Lands in *Canada*; and, in particular, to the Directors of the Seminary of *St. Sulpitius* at *Paris* he gave the Iſland of *Monreal*, with the Privilege of nominating

a

a Bailiff and ſeveral other Magiſtrates; and at firſt they had the Liberty of nominating a Governor, but afterwards the King deprived them of it, as he found it neceſſary to fortify the Town of *Monreal*.

The ſaid Seminary of *St. Sulpitius* ſent thither a great Number of Miſſionaries, and there are likewiſe great Numbers of Jeſuits who go to *Quebec*, and are from thence diſperſed into all Parts of the Country, and mix with the *Indians* in their Townſhips; and as they temporiſe with the *Indians* in their Cuſtoms and Dreſs, it is chiefly by means of the Jeſuits that the *French* have extended

tended their Trade and Influence among the *Indians*.

Thoſe who carry on the Fur-Trade in *Canada*, do it by Licence; but then they employ vaſt Numbers of *Indian* Traders whom they call *Coureurs de Bois*, who are expert in that Trade, and go in Canoes, and trade with moſt of the Savage Nations round the Government of *Canada*. Theſe *Coureurs de Bois* are, at preſent, become very numerous, being computed, at leaſt, at 1500 Men, who are often employed as a kind of flying Corps, and joined with the *Indians*, either to attack the *Engliſh*, or ſuch *Indians* as are in

Friendſhip with them: but altho' their Numbers ſtrengthen the Hands of the *French*, yet the exorbitant Prices that thoſe who have the Licenſes exact from the *Coureurs de Bois* have been one great Means of bringing many of the *Indian* Tribes to trade with the *Engliſh*, as they are ſupplied with their Goods at leaſt 100 *per Cent.* cheaper from the *Engliſh* Traders.

But what at firſt principally obſtructed the *French* in their extenſive Views, was the Obſtructions given them by the Five Nations, as they were thereby for many Years prevented from diſcovering the

the Lakes, carrying on a Trade, and forming Alliances with the Savages who lived to the Southward and Weſtward of them; therefore, in order to remove that Difficulty, they applied to King *Charles* II. to give Orders to his Governor at *New-York*, to forward a Peace between the *French* and the Five Nations, and to repreſent the *French* Power to them in ſuch a manner, as to perſuade them that their own Safety required their coming into Terms with *France*. However, the ſaid Governor did not comply with the King's Orders on that Head; yet as he was not at Liberty to act openly againſt the *French*, they improved

this Opportunity in extending their Lines, and in building Forts to the Southward, by which means the Five Nations have been much galled ever ſince the Building of Fort *Frontenac* and *Niagara*. It is true, the Five Nations demoliſhed the ſaid Forts; but the *French* ſoon rebuilt them, and added ſeveral other Forts to them, as a Retreat to their friendly *Indians*, when they attacked the Five Nations.

The *French* have likewiſe cut off or deſtroyed many of them by Treachery, and ſometimes by open Force, when the *Engliſh* neglected to ſupport them; ſo that thoſe brave and warlike People are great-

ly

ly reduced, and at preſent unable to withſtand the *French*; which hath been much owing to our engaging them in Wars with the *French*, and then leaving the whole Burthen of the War on them. This they ſeem to be ſenſible of, as they have often repreſented to the People of *New-York*, that when they made them take up the Hatchet againſt the *French*, they did not ſupport them afterwards as they ought to have done.

I have above obſerved the Views of the *French* in erecting the Forts *Frontenac* and *Niagara*, *&c.* which may be further explained by a Propoſal which was laid before

fore Count *Frontenac*, the ſecond Time he was Governor of *Canada*, *viz.* " Since we (meaning the " *French)* cannot deſtroy the *Iro-* " *queſe* or Five Nations, with our " own ſingle Forces, we are ne- " ceſſarily obliged to have Re- " courſe to the Savages who are " our Allies; and it is certain, as " they themſelves foreſee, that if " theſe Barbarians could compaſs " the Deſtruction of our Colonies, " our friendly *Indians* would be " ſubdued by them ſooner or la- " ter, as it has happened to many " other *Indians*; now, ſince they " are well affected to this Deſign, " we muſt endeavour to facilitate " to them the Means of putting it

" in

" in Execution; for you may ea-
" ſily believe that theſe People,
" however ſavage they may be,
" are not ſo void of Senſe, as to
" travel two or three hundred
" Leagues from their own Coun-
" try to fight againſt their Ene-
" mies, without being ſure of a
" Place of Retreat where they may
" repoſe themſelves and find Pro-
" viſions. There is no Queſtion
" therefore but we ſhould build
" Forts upon the Lands of the *Iro-*
" *queſe*, and maintain them in ſpite
" of their Teeth. And therefore
" it is propoſed to build and main-
" tain three Forts upon the Courſe
" of the Lake; one at the Mouth
" of the Lake *Erie*, another near to

" the

" the Waterfall called *Saut St.*
" *Marie*, and a third at the Mouth
" of the Bay of *Toronto*."

The ſaid Propoſals were tranſmitted to *France*; but they were then too much engaged in other Affairs to take notice of them; however, about the Year 1725 or 1726, they, in part, complied with the ſaid Propoſals in building a ſmall Fort near to the Waterfall called *Saut St. Marie*, and in erecting a Fort of conſiderable Strength at *Crown Point*, which is on the Lands of the Five Nations, and in many Reſpects of more Service to the *French*, and conſequently more hurtful to the *Engliſh*, than any

any of the Forts the *French* have built from *Quebec* to the River *Ohio*. By this Fort they keep the *Iroqueſe*, or Five Nations, under conſtant Alarms, and diſtreſs them and their Allies in their Huntings; and by *Crown-Point*, Fort *Frontenac*, *Niagara*, &c. they keep open a Communication with the *Weſtern Indians*. They likewiſe prevent the *Engliſh* from making a proper Uſe of the Five Nations againſt the *Eaſtern Indians*, who live in (what the *French* call) the Province of *Gaſpeſſie*, which is properly part of, and belongs to *Nova-Scotia*; and by this means, the *Indians* to the Eaſtward of *New-England* are left at liberty to make continual In-

roads upon the *Engliſh* Settlements of *Nova-Scotia*; altho' it might be eaſily prevented, if the Five Nations were at liberty, with Safety to themſelves, to attack the ſaid *Eaſtern* Nations in the Province of *Gaſpeſſie*, or more properly ſpeaking, in the back Parts of the Province of *Nova-Scotia*.

*Crown-Point* is near to the Branches of *Hudſon's* River, which runs by *Albany* to *New-York*; and therefore, from the Situation of the ſaid Fort, the Province of *New-York* may be brought into imminent Danger; and indeed in Time it may endanger the Safety of the whole Continent of *America*: for if ever the

the *French* can take us at an unguarded Hour, and could make themſelves Maſters of *New-York*, they would be enabled thereby to cut off the Communication between the *Northern* and *Southern* Colonies, and by the Aid of the *Indians*, they might have it in their Power totally to deſtroy the *Engliſh* Settlements; nay it is to be feared, that the *French* have had this in View for ſome Time paſt; and altho' the *Engliſh* have above ten times the Number of Settlers which the *French* have in their Colonies on the Continent of *America*, yet the *Engliſh* Frontiers being very extenſive, making near 1500 Miles in length, and the *French* having

moſt of the *Indians* in their Intereſt, it is not eaſy to guard againſt the *Indians* in their ſudden Attacks; for before the *Engliſh* can collect any Number of People together to oppoſe them, the *Indians* may, in the mean time, retire and ſhelter themſelves behind the *French* Forts, and in ſuch an extended Foreſt 'tis ſcarce poſſible, through Swamps and Thickets, to purſue them with any Proſpect of Advantage, or even to ſupply an Army with Neceſſaries in ſuch an Enterprize.

The Views of the *French* began to be public and open about the Year 1726, even ſo as to make it im-

impoſſible to miſtake their Deſigns, provided the *Engliſh* had given the leaſt Attention to the Concerns of *America*. The Deſigns of the *French* in taking in the *Great Lakes*, was to ſecure the *Indians*, and the Fur-Trade to themſelves. The Building of *Crown-Point* was to awe the Five Nations, or otherwiſe to bring them into the Meaſures of *France*. The Treaties with the *Eaſtern* Nations, or Tribes of *Indians*, and the Erecting a Province out of *Nova-Scotia*, by the Name of *Gaſpeſſie*, was to enlarge their Territories on the Sea Coaſt, and to extend their Fiſhery; ſo that what they have now done at *Ohio* is little in compariſon of the In-

croachments

croachments they have formerly made on us; nor in this Particular have they deviated from their former Scheme; as the Forts they have lately built are almoſt in a direct Line with *Niagara*: However, it is probable, they would not have acted ſo haſtily in this Matter, only that they were alarmed at the Settlement begun to be carried on by the *Ohio* Company. It is further obſervable, that if the *French* ſurrendered to us the Forts which they have lately taken at *Ohio*, and yet continue to extend their *South* Line, they would thereby take in a great Part of *Virginia*, and of *North* and *South Carolina*, and leave us wholly expoſed to the

Ex-

Excurſions of the *Indians*, in all our frontier Settlements; and therefore, whenever we have regulated our Affairs ſo as to be in a Condition to recover ſuch Part of our Colonies, as the *French* have, by their Art and Addreſs, taken Poſſeſſion of, we ought not only to demoliſh the Forts which they have lately built on the Branches of the River *Ohio*, but to take *Crown-Point* and *Niagara* from them, and alſo to build Forts for the Protection of the Five Nations, and for enlarging our Trade and Commerce with the *Indians*.

In the Treaty which was made between the Five Nations and the Gover-

Governor of *New-York* in 1746; the Governor expreſſes himſelf to the following Effect, *viz.*

" The King your Father having " been informed of the unmanly " Murders committed on the Fron- " tiers of *New-England*, and of " this Province, is reſolved to ſub- " due the Country of *Canada*, and " thereby put an End to all the " miſchievous Deſigns of the *French* " in theſe Parts; and for this Pur- " poſe he has ordered his Gover- " nors of *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *Pen-* " *ſylvania*, and *New-Jerſey*, to join " their Forces to the Forces of this " Province, to attack *Canada* by " Land: They are all now upon

" their March, and you will ſoon
" ſee them here.

" At the ſame Time the Forces
" of *Maſſachuſets Bay*, *Connecticut*,
" *Rhode Iſland*, and *New-Hamp-*
" *ſhire*, are to go in Ships to *Cape*
" *Breton*, and there join with his
" Majeſty's Ships of War, and a
" great Army of experienced Sol-
" diers from *Great Britain*.

" Many Ships of War are already
" arrived there, and ſome thou-
" ſands of Soldiers, and many more
" Ships and Soldiers are following,
" and I expect every Hour to hear
" of their Arrival ; after which the
" the Attack upon *Canada* will be

 " made

" made upon all Sides, both by
" Sea and Land.

" You may perceive the King
" has ordered a Force ſufficient to
" ſubdue *Canada*; but at the ſame
" Time, the King your Father ex-
" pects and orders you his Chil-
" dren to join with your whole
" Force in this Enterprize; and
" thereby gives the Six Nations a
" glorious Opportunity of eſta-
" bliſhing their Fame and Renown
" over all the *Indian* Nations in
" *America*, and in the Conqueſt
" of your inveterate Enemies the
" *French*; who, however they may
" diſſemble and profeſs Friendſhip,
" can never forget the Slaughter

" which

" which your Fathers made of
" them, and for that Purpoſe ca-
" reſs thoſe Nations who have al-
" ways been your inveterate Ene-
" mies, and who deſire nothing ſo
" much as to ſee the Name of the
" Five Nations become obliterate
" and forgot for ever."

In anſwer to which the *Indians* reply, *viz.*

" Brother of *New-York*, ac-
" cording to your Exhortation in
" your Speech to us, we are firmly
" united from this Time to act as
" having one Heart; the *Meſſaſa-*
" *gues* are in the ſame Manner
" joined and united to us, likewiſe

" the *Southern* Nations bordering
" upon us; and we hope that you,
" and the other Governors of the
" Continent, will be in the ſame
" Manner joined and united to-
" gether."

When the ſaid Governor renewed the Treaty with the *Mahakanders*, or *Indians* living near to *Hudſon*'s River, the Governor ordered Mr. *Colden* to ſpeak to them much to the ſame Effect as to the Six Nations; to which they replied.

" Father, you have told us what
" Miſchief the *French* have done,
" and what Murders upon the
" Chriſtians they have committed;
" there-

" therefore we declare from our
" Hearts, and not from our Lips
" only, that as you have ordered
" us to ſhed the Enemies Blood,
" in return for what they have
" done, we are reſolved to live and
" die with you in the common
" Cauſe.

" When you Chriſtians are at
" War you make Peace with one
" another, but it is not ſo with us,
" therefore we depend upon you
" to take Care of us; in Confi-
" dence of which we now take up
" the Hatchet, and will make Uſe
" of it againſt the *French* and their
" *Indians*."

By

By the above Speeches it appears, that the *Indians* entertained a Doubt of the *Engliſh* not joining them, and that in caſe of a Peace with *France*, we would not include our friendly *Indians* therein ; from which Cauſe the Burthen of the War would lie upon them, and leave them ſtill expoſed to the *French Indians*. Which accordingly happened, as they did not meet with any conſiderable Aſſiſtance from us, altho' we had then two or three Regiments in the King's Pay at *New-England*, that were not then any Way employed in the Service of the Crown.

If on declining the Expedition to *Quebec*, thoſe Troops had joined the Quota's which were to be ſupplied by the other Colonies, the *Engliſh* would in all Probability have taken *Crown-Point*, and have been thereby enabled by the Aid of the Six Nations to have engroſſed the moſt Part of the Fur-Trade, and alſo to have drawn off from the *French* Intereſt the *Southern* and *Weſtern Indians*. And it would have had this further good Effect, that the *Indians* to the Eaſtward of *New-England* might have been kept in ſuch Subjection by the Six Nations, as to have wholly prevented their annoying our frontier

Set-

Settlements in *Nova-Scotia*. However, I would not be underſtood in the leaſt to reflect upon any Perſon then in the Adminiſtration, as I am ſenſible, that, by the preſent Courſe of Buſineſs in the Offices, many Things are not repreſented in a proper Light to their View; and the Miſunderſtanding which then ſubſiſted in *New-York* and *Maſſachuſets* Bay, was a great Cauſe of loſing ſo favourable an Opportunity for humbling the *French*, and alſo for diſconcerting all the Meaſures which they had taken for upwards of fifty Years before that Time.

The

The Attention of the *French* King was not wholly confined to *Canada*, but he alſo extended his Views to *Miſſiſippi*; and accordingly in 1685, ſent four Ship with Monſ. *De la Salle*, to diſcover the Mouth of the ſaid River, and to make further Diſcoveries he ſent out other Ships afterwards; and in 1689 ſeveral Perſons were ordered to go from *Canada* to ſurvey the Branches of the ſaid River; in Conſequence of which, there has been a conſiderable Settlement made there, and a Governor appointed by the Stile of Governor General of *Louiſiana*, or *Miſſiſippi*, whoſe Reſidence is at *New Or-*

*leans*, and the Lieutenant Governor reſides at *Mobille*.

After treating of the Settlements of the *French* on the Continent, it may be proper to make ſome brief Obſervations in relation to their other Settlements, and their ſurpriſing Increaſe or Improvement ſince 1701.

In a Memorial of the Board of Commerce, at that time preſented to the King in his Council of State, the ſaid Board repreſents as follows:

" That the Coaſt of *Cayenne* is about 60 Leagues in Extent, and not

not above ten or twelve of it are inhabited. That its Soil is very good, and that the Sugars it produces do near equal in Goodneſs the white Sugars of *Brazil*; that it affords Rocou, which is a Drug for dying Red; and that there are not above 600 Whites, including Men, Women and Children, and 2000 Blacks of both Sexes.

That the Iſland of *Grenade* is, in Circuit, about 25 Leagues; the number of Whites, including all Ages and Sexes, 200; and of Blacks of both Sexes, about 600; and that the ſaid Iſland produces Sugar, Indigo, Cotton, and Caffet.

That *Martinico* is about 60 Leagues in Circuit, the Soil good, and very fertile in Sugars, Cocoa, Indigo, and Cotton: that there were formerly 3500 white Men, and about 16000 Blacks of both Sexes on it.

That *Guardaloupe*, and the Land belonging to it, make about 50 Leagues in Circuit, contain about 1500 white Men, and about 8000 Blacks of both Sexes.

*Marie Galante* is in Circuit about 16 Leagues, produces Sugar, Indigo, Cotton, and Ginger; it

was

was taken by the *Engliſh*, who afterwards abandoned it.

*St. Cruce* is about 25 Leagues round; during the War with the *Engliſh*, it was abandoned, and the Inhabitants tranſported to *St. Domingo*.

*Hiſpaniola*, or *St. Domingo*, is about 500 Leagues in Circuit. The *French* poſſeſs one half of it from Cape *François* to the *Vaches*, and the *Spaniards* have the other half. At Cape *François* there is a good Port and about 900 white Men, and 2000 Blacks of both Sexes. To the Southward of that is *Port du Paix*, which the *Engliſh* plundered and

the

the Inhabitants deſerted it. In the Diſtrict of *Leogani* the Governor reſides, in which there are about 2000 white Men, and 15000 Blacks of both Sexes.

*Petit Guave* has a good Port, and about 600 Whites and 2000 Blacks.

There are ſome other Iſlands, as *La Dominique*, *Les Xaintes*, *St. Martin*, and *St. Bartholemy*, which were then almoſt uninhabited."

It is proper to remark here, that the *French* Board of Commerce do not make any mention of the Iſlands of *St. Vincent*, *St.*

*Lucia*, or *Tobago*; and although they mention *La Dominique*, it is amongſt the Iſlands which they ſay are not ſettled, yet there were then ſeveral *Engliſh* Families reſiding in *Dominique*.

The Board of Commerce further report, that the laſt War, and the Sickneſs known by the Name of *Siam*, which a Ship brought from that Place, have much diminiſhed the *French* Colonies; and that this, and the Neighbourhood of the Iſlands which the *Engliſh* poſſeſs, are very preſſing Motives for ſtudying ſeriouſly the Safety of thoſe Iſlands and Colonies.

By

By the above Calculation the *French* had then 8850 white Men, and 45600 Blacks in the ſaid Iſlands or Colonies; but by a Calculation made in 1751, the *French* had then, in the ſaid Colonies, upwards of 51500 white Men fit to bear Arms, independent of many thouſands of Sailors employed in the Trade of the Colonies, and 364800 Slaves of both Sexes; and ſince the Increaſe of their Colonies, they have incroached upon the *Engliſh* in ſettling the Iſlands of *St. Lucia*, *Tobago*, *Dominique*, &c.

The

The Treaty that was on Foot for evacuating the ſaid Iſland was much for the Service of the *Engliſh* Nation, and indeed there were great Hopes of its ſucceeding; but when the *French* found themſelves preſs'd on that Head, they artfully contrived a Treaty by Commiſſioners to be ſent to *Paris*; which gave the *French* an Opportunity of mixing the Concerns of the Iſlands with thoſe of the Continent, ſo that they had it thereby in their Power to delay the Evacuation of *St. Lucia*, *Tobago*, &c.

The *French* likewiſe intended, if they came to a Diviſion with

the *Engliſh* on the Continent of *America*, to include our friendly *Indians* within their Bounds or Limits, and ſo turn our own Weapons againſt ourſelves.

Many of the *Indians* to the Weſt of the *Apalacian* or *Blue Mountains* have acknowledged themſelves ſubject to the Crown of *Great Britain*; and were we to determine their Territories to be within the *French* Limits, it would be throwing them into the Arms of *France*, deſtructive of all our frontier Settlements, and would put an entire Stop to the Trade and Commerce which hath been hitherto carried on with them; and

it

it is alſo much to be feared, that the *French* would in ſuch caſe erect divers Forts within their Territories, and in a manner compel them to make War on us.

Theſe are the Effects which would naturally ariſe from coming to a Diviſion with the *French*; but it is very difficult to judge what Good it could produce to the *Engliſh*.

For if ſuch Limits were determined, thoſe who ſettle on our Frontiers would not be more ſecure in reſpect of their Lives or Poſſeſſions; as it has always been and will be the Policy

of *France*, to ſtir up their friendly *Indians* to annoy our Frontier Settlements, and afterwards diſavow every Act done by them.

The Deſign of mentioning theſe Matters is with a View to ſhew that the *French* have always had a great Advantage over the *Engliſh* in treating with them; as they purſue one ſteady uniform Method of Proceeding, and keep all the Channels of Information ſo open and entire, that at the *French* Court they are appriſed of every thing that has the leaſt Relation to their immediate Intereſt.

The

The *French* are alſo extremely ſenſible of the Benefit of Navigation, and that the Happineſs and Glory of their Kingdom depends upon it; and they are not ignorant, that the Navigation of *France* owes all its Increaſe and Splendor to the Commerce of its Colonies: But now they have extended their Views further, and endeavour to obſtruct the *Engliſh* Commerce in all Parts of the World, as by that means they will not only increaſe their own Power and Influence, but in Proportion weaken ours; which will give them a double Advantage over us, and, if not properly checked, it may,

in time, enable them to extend their Influence and Power all over *Europe*. And although we have exerted ourſelves in Defence of the Balance of Power in *Europe*; yet it is to be feared that we muſt act ſingle, and without any Support from our Allies, in the Defence of our Trade and Settlements.

The Ambition of the *French* in extending their Empire is without any Bounds or Limits, and therefore they countenance every Scheme, or Propoſal, that has the leaſt Proſpect of forwarding their grand Deſign. In relation to which it may not be improper to mention the Scheme of an Officer

ficer of ſome Note in the *French* Service in *America*, *viz.* That they ought to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to make themſelves Maſters of the *Engliſh* Iſlands in the *Weſt-Indies*, and to encourage the *Engliſh* Colonies on the Continent of *America* to unite and form a Republican Government; and, that in order to induce them thereto, it would be for the Service of *France* to open all their Ports to them, both in *Europe* and *America*. Such Schemes appear at preſent to be wild and extravagant, yet there are many things in the Womb of Time, which may favour the ambitious Views of *France* in ſuch Enterpriſes.

But

But to resume the Subject: Whenever a Government has Consistency and a proper Management of their Affairs in time of Peace, we may expect the same in War; and without them even fortunate Events will not turn to the Advantage of any Nation. Now if *England* was to commence a a War against *France*, in support of her Trade and Colonies, what could be hoped from it, unless we first correct the Abuses, which have through time crept into the Offices? Which ought to be our first and principal Care, before we make any Efforts to extend or protect our Trade and Settlements,

left

leſt by wrong Information we apply improper Remedies, which in the End may prove deſtructive to this Nation; we may likewiſe lay the Foundation of a kind of Independency in the Colonies on the Continent of *America*, and by permitting them to iſſue Paper-Bills of Credit, which are often calculated to enrich particular Perſons altho' at the ſame time they deſtroy public Credit, we may alter the Courſe of their Trade and Commerce. The Succeſs the *French* have had, and now have, in enlarging their Trade, and extending their Settlements, doth not ariſe from the ſuperior Abilities of thoſe at the Helm, nor

from a warmer Zeal, or greater Application to the Service of their Country; for, without Compliment, we have the Advantage of them in theſe Reſpects: but their Advantages over us ariſe from the mutual Relation and Subordination of their Boards; which is abſolutely neceſſary to the uniform Proſecution of Buſineſs in all Deſigns of Importance.

The Affairs of *America* are at preſent very ſerious and intereſting, and juſtly claim the utmoſt Attention; and therefore, as is humbly conceived, it may be fit and proper (in thoſe who have the Power to redreſs) to conſider

the preſent State of our Colonies the Offices relative thereto: And as *France* could not have acted with equal Succeſs, provided they had not had a Fund appropriated to the Uſe of the Colonies, which hath been always applied according to the Exigencies of their Affairs; it may be likewiſe proper to eſtabliſh a Fund for the Uſe of our Colonies; but previous thereto, it will be expedient to enquire into the Manner of accounting for the Revenues of the Crown in *America*; for if it ſhould be thought agreeable to the Wiſdom of the Legiſlature to create any new Funds in *America* for the Uſe of the Colonies, either by a

Stamp-Duty on Vellum and Paper, or any other Way, to be appropriated to their Uſe, the Money collected muſt paſs through the Hands of the Officers who are appointed to receive his Majeſty's Revenues in *America*; and therefore it will be previouſly neceſſary to know, whether the manner of accounting for his Majeſty's Revenues in *America* is ſo regulated, as to give any juſt or reaſonable Hopes of having the Money collected applied ſolely to the Uſes for which it is intended.

The Concerns of *America*, and alſo the Proceedings of our Council or Board of Commerce, are under the

the View and Inſpection of the Hon. the Houſe of Commons; for as is humbly conceived, it appears evident from the Steps which were taken, previous to the Eſtabliſhment of a Council or Board of Trade in 1696, from the Syſtem of the ſaid Board, and from their Courſe of Proceedings for the firſt twelve Years, that the ſaid Board was intended as a kind of Appendage to the Hon. the Houſe of Commons.

There are many other Things in relation to our Colonies worthy of Conſideration, which will be more properly the Subject of another Diſcourſe.

*F I N I S.*

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